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Between “Traditional” Collectivity and “Modern” Individuality: An Atomistic Perspective on Family and Household astride the Hajnal Line (Upper Silesia and Great Poland at the End of the 18th Century)

*Mikołaj Szoltysek & Konrad Rzemieniecki**

Abstract: These are the first results of a larger project on residential patterns in thirty five parishes of western and southern Poland and Silesia at the turn of 18th century. This study is focused on several aspects of household characteristics and life-course patterns in three communities of Great Poland and Upper Silesia. The model of the inter-relationships between peasant households and landowners in central Poland developed by Polish social and economic historians, and M. Verdon’s atomistic perspective on European living arrangements have been taken as the points of reference for the empirical investigation. The evidence on household structure makes evident that a pattern considered as typical for the East-European Slavs and Balkans can not be attributed to the places we study. An analysis of developmental cycles of domestic groups demonstrated that non-inheriting male offspring in the parishes usually searched for residential autonomy. Co-residence of younger generations with parents and other kin took place on exceptional occasions and was usually temporary. This has been accompanied by a gradual departure of children of both sexes from parental households. Although there was a significant proportion of stem families in the villages, they seem to be a sort of life-cycle phenomenon. The residential patterns of elderly people revealed striking differences in the importance of the fa-

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mily as a welfare institution between villages. Another feature of the relationship patterns in the localities was the incidence of co-residence with non-relatives, mostly occurring during the teenage years and early adulthood. All in all, the study revealed a considerable complexity and diversity of individual behaviours but a relative lack of “family-centred principles” in household arrangements in the parishes.

Introduction

During his long trip from Prussia into Poland, Segur, an 18th century French traveller, has written a passage that gives an image of his impressions in a very expressive way:

“In traversing the eastern parts of the estates of the king of Prussia, it seems that one leaves the theatre where there reigns a nature embellished by the efforts of art and a perfect civilisation. The eye is already saddened by arid sands, by vast forests.

But when one enters Poland, one believes one has left Europe entirely, and the gaze is struck by a new spectacle: an immense country almost totally covered with fit trees always green, but always sad, interrupted at long intervals by some cultivated plans, like islands scattered on the ocean; a poor population, enslaved; dirty villages; cottages little different from the savage huts; everything makes one think one has been moved back ten centuries, and that one finds oneself amid hordes of Huns, Scythians, Veneti, Slavs and Sarmatians” (Wolff 1994, p. 19).

One may be tempted to search for analogies and argue that such a perspective on Eastern Europe—as an entity lying somewhere “in-between”, on the borderland area between civilised West and barbarian East—was not entirely absent from modern demographic thought as well (Greenhalgh 1996; Todorova 1997). A similar metaphor of a movement from “the centre” to “the periphery” one can easily find in the most prominent works on the history of European family. John Hajnal has been most influential in doing so when he proposed a demarcation line from St Petersburg to Trieste, running right through Central Europe and dividing the continent into two zones of sharply contrasted family systems (Hajnal 1965; 1982, pp. 452-453). Quite recently Michael Mitterauer and Karl Kaser—both following Hajnal’s reasoning—argued that there really was a transitional cultural zone between west and east European family patterns spreading eastward alongside the extent of medieval German colonization movement in East-Central Europe (Mitterauer 2003; Kaser 2001, p. 57)¹.

¹ On the criticism of Mitterauer’s and Kaser’s propositions see Szoltysek 2005b.

No doubt, the debate on Hajnal's division of pre-industrial Europe has recently lost part of its analytical vitality (Wall 1997, 1998). However, there are several assumptions underlying the concept of two household formation systems, which seem still to possess an important heuristic value, especially when taken as a starting point for discussing intra-familial relationships in the European past. They all have been expressed directly or indirectly in the vast area of historical-demographic literature (Wall 1998; Laslett 1983; 1988; Mitterauer 2003; Kaser 2001, 2002; Schofield 1989; Das Gupta 1999; Skinner 1997). Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to present them in a somewhat stylised version alongside individualistic vs. collectivistic assumptions (Verdon 1998)².

According to this, West European household arrangements were predominated by neo-local rules of residence that "lay it down that every person when marrying has to leave the parental household and join in the formation of a new one" (Laslett 1988, p. 153). The very concept of neo-locality implied presumption of "loose" kin relations and organization of kinsfolk that was rather not family-centred. It also implied the existence of the so-called nuclear hardship, which refers in general to particular "difficulties imposed upon individuals when social rules require them to live in nuclear households" (*ibid.*). Life-cycle service, existence of land market together with forms of non-agrarian employment and collective provisions for socially weak, these all have made for maintaining the system based on the principle of residential autonomy. This was a sort of a "lifeboat ethic", whereby "the social and economic position of the family was effectively maintained by removing or highly circumscribing the potential claims of other kin to support from the household" (Das Gupta 1999, p. 4). At the same time, the prevalence of nuclear households was usually seen as resulting from the penetration of capitalism and its individualistic set of values (esp. Macfarlane 1978).

On the contrary, the discourse on the European East (as well as on "backward" areas of Pyrenean and Mediterranean) operates predominantly within a collectivistic milieu. East European (more) complex households have often been considered as an outcome of a "peculiar" cultural setting as expressed in coercive institutions or norms (Verdon 1998, p. 4). Even when economic factors were called upon in order to explain a patterned behaviour, scholars usually accounted for its existence by invoking a set of norms or values making

² Certainly, such a stylised approach ignores the actual variation on the ground of operation of family systems that could exist both between regions and different socio-economic groups within the same region. In addition to these forms of variation being ignored, such approach does not consider the fact that systems could have changed over time. We use the term "collectivistic" in a different and rather narrower sense than it has been done by Laslett in his exploration of the role of community (the parish, town or village community) in sustaining the family system based on nuclear households in Northwest Europe (Laslett 1988, p. 156). Here, we refer mainly to family-based principles of social organization and to one of their manifestations—family-centered residence patterns (comp. Wall 1998).

this practice possible. At the core of the problem—as for example Macfarlane’s argument goes—lies the corporate nature of the ownership lacking any individual rights over property (Macfarlane 1978, pp. 20-23; or what Das Gupta 1999, p. 5 termed “corporate ethic”) and leading to family-based principles of social organization. Such an image has been also reinforced by the stress that had been often put on particular propensities of the Slavic way of life. That applies to the case of Russian peasants who have been considered as having developed a strongly collectivistic culture, a collectivism that sustained their large households. However, this concerns also Polish speaking populations, for in the international historical and sociological literature, Polish family forms have often been portrayed as rooted in the Slavic tendency to follow a communal way of life (Sering 1934; Thomas and Znaniecki 1958 [1918]; Macfarlane 1978, pp. 18-30).

The general aim of this paper is to make an attempt to test how far that dichotomous picture holds true. In order to do this we will analyse various aspects of household characteristics for the sample of three parishes lying on the borderland area astride the Hajnal line, using the procedures popularised in the research done by the Cambridge Group and its followers (Laslett and Wall 1972; Wall 1998). All the parishes under study were inhabited solely by Polish-speaking serf population. The sample diverges in a way that two of them (Będków and Piątek) were located in the eastern part of the region called Great Poland and belonged to the Polish Kingdom, while the third one (Bujakow) formed a parish within *Kreis Beuthen* of the Kingdom of Prussia³. However, in all of them marriage and household formation of the peasants were, in principle, under strict manorial control since peasants had only limited property rights under the rule of insecure land tenure (Orzechowski 1959; Baranowski 1971; Woźniak 1987).⁴

The population of the parish Bujakow occupied three villages and was rather stable in the period under study. Some 750 inhabitants were counted in 1766, while 830 inhabitants after thirty years (underregistered children included). The

³ By Great Poland we are denoting a district on the western fringes of both historical and today’s Polish territories (called *Wielkopolska*). More on the demographic characteristic of the parish of Bujakow: Szoltysek 2004a, 2004c. Also there, the detailed elaboration of the distribution of servants, lodgers and kin among households in parochial villages.

⁴ Direct information on the nature of peasant proprietorship is only available for the parish of Bujakow. There, the peasants’ rights over their land were called *lassitischer Besitz*. It has been defined as “a form of peasant’s ownership concerning the termless right to use the landowner’s holdings, buildings and the whole inventory, however, without the perfect right to deal with them” (Orzechowski 1959, p. 43). This form of insecure land tenure obliged serfs to several duties in favor of the estate owner, especially to do the *Frondienste* (*corvee*). The rules implied also the impartibility of holdings, landowners’ right to interfere in the process of transmission and their right to expel a peasant family from the holding. As a matter of fact, however, feudal practices could have often been much more flexible in several aspects (Szoltysek 2004c).

parish Będków contained the small town of the same name with 478 inhabitants and eight villages with the total population of 573 inhabitants. The parish of Piątek was the largest one in the sample: besides the town Piątek it contained eighteen villages, and it reached the number of 2721 Christian and 167 Jewish inhabitants altogether.⁵

This work has been based on two different sets of household lists. One consists of 15 sequential census-type “communion books” listing all inhabitants above the age 11 by households for the period from 1766 to 1803 in the parish of Bujakow and supplemented by existing parish registers⁶. The second one contains single household counts (so called *Libri status animarum*) from two localities in 1791, listing all inhabitants together with their age specification⁷.

⁵ In both cases from Great Poland the population estimates include the inhabitants of manor houses. For the purpose of the statistical analysis, only the rural population of Great Poland parishes has been used.

⁶ The title of the original is: No. 4. Communicanten Register der Kirche zu Bujakow aus dem Gross Dubenster Archypresbyteral Kreis siehe den 5. des Reglements, A.D. 1766. The source was found in the church archive in Bujakow. “Communion books” raise some methodological problems, such as the fact that the source designates no ages of the household members. Secondly, particular domestic groups have not been enumerated but only segregated in separate “blocks” (see the discussion of that issue in Berkner 1975). Therefore, the identification of the household units in successive censuses was carried out through a careful observation of the group of individuals within each “block” from one enumeration to another with regard to several criteria, such as continuity of their names and surnames, kin relationships and social statuses. Household heads who appeared in subsequent censuses have been assumed to be the same person or/and to represent the same domestic group when: 1) they had the same names and surnames while according to the parish registers the possibility of the existence of persons with the same ones in the community was ruled out; 2) they had different names but the same surnames, and according to parish registers there was a close kinship relation between the two owners that had additionally been accompanied by co-residence of members of the previous domestic group (parent/s, sibling/s); 3) they had different names and surnames but there was an evidence suggesting headship transmission from father to son-in-law, to the second husband of a deceased head’s wife, or another form of reconstructed transfer (e.g.: we have assumed that the household of Zofia Kornas, widowed Gärtnerin from 1768, had its continuation in the household of Gärtner Mathias Zajac—the owner who appeared in the source for the first time in the enumeration of 1769—in which she was a lodger in 1769). No way to escape these pitfalls, we have taken for granted that people assigned to particular “block” constituted the household as an residential unit, typically merging productive and consumptive functions. Such a household not only contained the head’s immediate family, but also servants, retired parents or other co-resided kin, as well as lodgers (however, with regards to the latter we have assumed they had formed separate household units even within the same premises).

⁷ Archival reference numbers for the lists from Great Poland are: for the parish of Piątek—Lwowska Biblioteka Naukowa Akademii Nauk Ukrainy, Oddział Rękopisów, Teki Czołowski, rkps 1628/II; for the parish of Będków—Lwowska Biblioteka Naukowa Akademii Nauk Ukrainy, Oddział Rękopisów, Teki Czołowski, rkps 1583/III.

In both Silesian and Great Polish household lists these have been the local priests that had conducted the enumerations of the villages’ inhabitants by households. The household lists from the Great Poland parishes represent attempts that have been made to register the population of hundreds of local communities due to the decision of so-called Great Parliament of

Despite general similarities and usefulness to study household structure, these sources differ in several aspects, requiring different questions to be asked as well as methods to be applied.

Before proceeding further, a brief outline of our own assumptions used to operationalise the research and to put forward some hypotheses is necessary. Following Michel Verdon's atomistic perspective on European living arrangements (Verdon 1998), we assume that European households regardless of their geographical location will spontaneously tend to nuclearise, if unhindered. This is so—as Verdon has pointed out—because “(...) all adults normally constituted psychologically appear to want to decide the course of their everyday life. They may be unable to do so and resign themselves to their fate but, given any choice, they will choose independence, and resent being told what to do, even if they need to consult others to make up their own mind” (*ibid.*, p. 53). We believe Verdon was right in saying that in the European context, cohabitation of two or more conjugal units within the household was intrinsically conflictual (*ibid.*, p. 62; see also Segalen 1984; Collomp 1984). Thus, the co-residence of two or more of them needs to be explained in terms of hindrances or coercive forces or both (Verdon, pp. 20-21).

A secondary frame of reference has also been built into our research. In their model of “second serfdom”, Witold Kula and Andrzej Woźniak have described the inter-relationships between peasant households and landowners in central Poland (Kula 1983; Woźniak 1987). As a general theoretical construct we assume this model to be applicable both to 18th century Silesia as well as to Great Poland of the same time.

In contrast to the collectivist image of the Polish peasants, one can hardly find collectivistic assumptions in the works of Kula and Woźniak. Both authors take notice of landlords' efforts to separate co-residing couples of different or the same generation in order to multiply the number of familial units. These peasant families should be capable of cultivating independently a certain amount of (free) land and performing several duties in favour of the domain at the same time (Kula 1983, p. 244; Woźniak 1987; also Rutkowski 1956 and Kochanowicz 1983, p. 162). If we look at the matter through Verdon's atomistic perspective, this seems like a particular case of institutional incentive to neo-local practices: few hindrances and constraints were imposed on individual aspiration towards residential autonomy. This seemed to be general knowledge

the Kingdom of Poland, 1788-1792. For the detailed evaluation of the Silesian and Great Poland source materials, see Szoltysek 2003, 2004b, 2004c and Rzemieniecki 2005, 2004b. *Liber status animarum* from the parish of Piątek is far from being complete for it covered only 1118 people from the total number of 2721 inhabitants. The reason for that was the complete omission of seven of the parochial villages and partial omission of another two localities, including the town in the enumeration (Rzemieniecki 2005). In this analysis the total number of 965 inhabitants has been used for estimations.

even to contemporary observers, for one can easily find descriptions similar to that coming from 1767:

“A serf, having no more property besides the clothes he gained while being in servitude, is usually forced to take over a holding together with an acreage just after his marriage” (“Monitor” 1767; quoted from Woźniak 1987, p. 108; translation by M. Szoltysek).

But in contrast to Verdon’s view, both Kula and Woźniak pointed out that peasants were quite reluctant to this neo-local practice from above. Instead, they preferred co-residence (Kula 1983, p. 244; Woźniak 1987, p. 91). Kula was far from being clear in explaining this phenomenon. However, one can mention Kochanowicz who argued that peasants tried to keep and cumulate family labour force within the household in addition to non-family labour in order to use the former to cultivate their own holdings and the latter to perform the *corvee* (Kochanowicz 1983, p. 159-162; also Zawistowicz-Adamska 1971; Topolski 1956).

Woźniak looked at the issue from a different angle. He was much more explicit in emphasising several hindrances and constraints that would have been imposed on the new owner and would have made him certainly not optimistic with respect to the prospects of his household’s prosperity. These were: a great welfare burden to carry for a new household due to the insufficiency of family labour manpower at the beginning of its developmental cycle and due to high costs of hiring servants; bad quality of free wastelands that might not have been cultivated for a long time; agricultural equipment not complete and often reduced by landlords to rudimentary hardware, by that making land cultivation a tremendous effort; and, last but not least, several additional obligations such as repairs of agricultural premises on one’s own (Woźniak 1987, p. 93-94). In other words, the second serfdom made nuclear hardship harder.

However, manor houses could use countervailing strategies to encourage neo-local household formation. In such cases, a sort of domain’s relief has been brought into force by allocating to peasants not only plots of land, but also all the premises as well as grains for the sowing (Woźniak 1987, p. 93-94). There could have also been additional incentives at work. Landlords could reduce a young couple’s work burden by including the couple into a lower category of rural population and reducing its obligations to the corresponding kind of *corvee* without work animals although the couple had been provided with large amount of land, such as Hufen (*włóka* or *rola*) (Woźniak 1987, p. 94).

It is clear then, that even within the model we describe peasants’ unwillingness towards residential autonomy is no indicator of any particular set of values or general norms, beliefs and ethos (comp. Verdon 1998, pp. 22-23). Instead, we have the operation of two antithetic forces with respect to residential autonomy: lack of institutional hindrances (since landlords tried to maximise the number of profitable plots of land), and economic hardship for the individual peasant family (sharpened by the impartibility of land).

Living Together, Living Apart

Tables 1 to 3 show us general patterns of household arrangements in the parish of Bujakow, using Laslett's classification scheme (Laslett 1972, pp. 28-31). The results are based on simple cross-tabulations, nevertheless they seem to be meaningful, for what we see is a relatively large percentage of extended and multiple family forms. These could range from less than 10% to even more than half of all households in one village through all the period covered by the household lists, giving an average of 27% of extended and multiple households for the whole period.

Table 1: Households by structure according to Laslett's typology—the village of Bujakow, 1766-1803.

| Year | Overall number of households (100%) | Percentage of household types: | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | | 1a-1b | 2a-2c | 3a-3d (nuclear) | 4a-4d (extended) | 5a-5e (multiple) | 4-5 altogether |
| 1766 | 53 | 3.8 | — | 81.1 | 11.3 | 3.8 | 15.1 |
| 1767 | 53 | 3.8 | 1.9 | 81.1 | 9.4 | 3.8 | 13.2 |
| 1768 | 54 | 1.9 | — | 87.0 | 7.4 | 3.7 | 11.1 |
| 1769 | 50 | 4.0 | — | 84.0 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 12.0 |
| 1770 | 50 | 4.0 | — | 80.0 | 6.0 | 10.0 | 16.0 |
| 1785 | 42 | — | 4.8 | 85.7 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 9.5 |
| 1786 | 59 | — | 1.7 | 72.9 | 16.9 | 8.5 | 25.4 |
| 1792 | 61 | 3.3 | — | 68.9 | 21.3 | 6.6 | 27.9 |
| 1793 | 65 | 3.1 | — | 66.2 | 24.6 | 6.2 | 30.8 |
| 1794 | 63 | 3.2 | — | 76.2 | 14.3 | 6.3 | 20.6 |
| 1795 | 63 | 4.8 | 1.6 | 73.0 | 14.3 | 6.3 | 20.6 |
| 1796 | 60 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 75.0 | 18.3 | 3.3 | 21.7 |
| 1801 | 54 | — | 1.9 | 77.8 | 13.0 | 7.4 | 20.4 |
| 1802 | 63 | — | 4.8 | 74.6 | 12.7 | 7.9 | 20.6 |
| 1803 | 56 | 1.8 | 7.1 | 73.2 | 7.1 | 10.7 | 17.9 |

Source: Communicanten Register der Kirche zu Bujakow.

Table 2: Households by structure according to Laslett's typology—the village of Klein Paniow, 1766-1803.

| Year | Overall number of households (100%) | Percentage of household types: | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | | 1a-1b | 2a-2c | 3a-3d (nuclear) | 4a-4d (extended) | 5a-5e (multiple) | 4-5 altogether |
| 1766 | 43 | 2.3 | 4.7 | 60.5 | 18.6 | 14.0 | 32.6 |
| 1767 | 45 | 2.2 | 4.4 | 57.8 | 22.2 | 13.3 | 35.6 |
| 1768 | 41 | — | 2.4 | 63.4 | 19.5 | 14.6 | 34.1 |
| 1769 | 42 | — | 2.4 | 64.3 | 23.8 | 9.5 | 33.3 |
| 1770 | 43 | — | 2.3 | 67.4 | 25.6 | 4.7 | 30.2 |
| 1785 | 46 | — | 4.3 | 69.6 | 17.4 | 8.7 | 26.1 |
| 1786 | 47 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 61.7 | 17.0 | 12.8 | 29.8 |
| 1792 | 51 | — | 2.0 | 54.9 | 25.5 | 17.6 | 43.1 |
| 1793 | 45 | — | 2.2 | 46.7 | 31.1 | 20.0 | 51.1 |
| 1794 | 50 | — | 2.0 | 64.0 | 16.0 | 18.0 | 34.0 |
| 1795 | 51 | 2.0 | — | 66.7 | 19.6 | 11.8 | 31.4 |
| 1796 | 47 | — | — | 53.2 | 27.7 | 19.1 | 46.8 |
| 1801 | 49 | — | — | 53.1 | 26.5 | 20.4 | 46.9 |
| 1803 | 50 | — | — | 54.0 | 30.0 | 16.0 | 46.0 |

Source: Communicanten Register der Kirche zu Bujakow.

Table 3: Households by structure according to Laslett's typology—the village of Gross Paniow, 1766-1802.

| Year | The overall number of households (100%) | The percentage of household types: | | | | |
|------|---|------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | | 2a-2c | 3a-3d (nuclear) | 4a-4d (extended) | 5a-5e (multiple) | 4-5 altogether |
| 1766 | 54 | 5.6 | 66.7 | 20.4 | 7.4 | 27.8 |
| 1767 | 52 | 5.8 | 65.4 | 21.2 | 7.7 | 28.8 |
| 1768 | 51 | 3.9 | 64.7 | 23.5 | 7.8 | 31.4 |
| 1769 | 51 | 2.0 | 72.5 | 21.6 | 3.9 | 25.5 |
| 1770 | 50 | 2.0 | 74.0 | 20.0 | 4.0 | 24.0 |
| 1785 | 50 | — | 88.0 | 8.0 | 4.0 | 12.0 |
| 1786 | 51 | — | 86.3 | 7.8 | 5.9 | 13.7 |
| 1792 | 54 | — | 59.3 | 24.1 | 16.7 | 40.7 |
| 1793 | 54 | 1.9 | 66.7 | 20.4 | 11.1 | 31.5 |
| 1794 | 55 | 1.8 | 76.4 | 14.5 | 7.3 | 21.8 |
| 1795 | 56 | 1.8 | 80.4 | 10.7 | 7.1 | 17.9 |
| 1796 | 56 | — | 76.8 | 14.3 | 8.9 | 23.2 |
| 1801 | 52 | — | 76.9 | 17.3 | 5.8 | 23.1 |
| 1802 | 38 | 2.6 | 73.7 | 15.8 | 7.9 | 23.7 |

Source: Communicanten Register der Kirche zu Bujakow.

A glance at the household typology from the two communities of Great Poland gives us a relatively similar impression (tables 4 and 5). The total percentage of the households of Laslett's types 4 and 5 in the parish of Będków reached almost 40% of the whole sample and almost 30% in Piątek. These data seem to show family and household patterns rather different from the "unique" northwest European model, as well as from peasants' reluctance towards co-residence described by Kula and Woźniak. Thus, two questions arise: (1) Were these communities family-centred ones, as this simple statistics might suggest? (2) What factors were responsible for a significant proportion of couples from the communities deciding to co-reside, while the rest has been able to form its own households?

Table 4: Households by structure according to Laslett's typology—the parish of Będków, 1791.

| Type of household structure | Absolute numbers | | % | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|----|-----|------|
| 3 | 3a | 2 | | |
| | 3b | 45 | 51 | 61,4 |
| | 3d | 4 | | |
| 4 | 4a | 6 | | |
| | 4b | 3 | | |
| | 4c | 7 | 20 | 24,1 |
| | 4d | 4 | | |
| 5 | 5b | 6 | | |
| | 5c | 2 | 12 | 14,5 |
| | 5d | 4 | | |
| Totals | | 83 | 100 | |

Source: Libri status animarum of the parish of Będków.

Table 5: Households by structure according to Laslett's typology—the parish of Piątek, 1791.

| Type of household structure | Absolute numbers | | % | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----|-----|------|
| 3 | 3a | 7 | | |
| | 3b | 80 | | |
| | 3c | 1 | 92 | 73,6 |
| 4 | 3d | 3 | | |
| | 3e | 1 | | |
| | 4a | 7 | | |
| | 4b | 6 | | |
| 5 | 4c | 7 | 28 | 22,4 |
| | 4d | 8 | | |
| | 5a | 3 | | |
| 5 | 5b | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Totals | | 125 | 100 | |

Source: Libri status animarum of the parish of Piątek.

In order to make the first step in approaching the problem, a more detailed investigation into households' characteristics is necessary. First, one should not overlook differences between villages, and fluctuations over time in households' complexity within the three Upper Silesian localities. Within the villages of the parish of Bujakow extended households were usually twice more numerous as multiple ones. This holds true for Będków as well, while in the third locality one can find extended households four times more numerous than multiple ones⁸. Furthermore, married brothers in Bujakow formed a household together

⁸ The present stage of the investigation does not allow to state clearly whether this phenomenon stemmed from the interaction with demographic determinants or had something to do with prevailing inheritance patterns. At least some of the extended households could have potentially resulted not from formerly existing multigenerational constellations—impossi-

only in exceptional cases. On the other hand *stem families* constituted there 65% of all complex households, and they might have even averaged 30% of all households in one village⁹. This is even more striking among the Great Poland communities: in Piątek married brothers headed none of the 125 households in 1791, while in Będków the maximum frequency of *frèreche* in the total number of households did not exceed half a percent. This evidence warns us not to establish the dominant family forms too eagerly for the whole sample, but at the same time it makes evident that a pattern considered as typical for the East-European Slavs and Balkans can not be attributed to the places we study.

Serial census accounts as those we had at our disposal for the parish of Bujakow were especially suitable to follow the changes that occurred within family composition during its developmental cycle (Berkner 1972, 1975; Mitterauer and Sieder 1983; Janssens 1993; Leboutte 1998). Thus, it was possible for us to gain some insights into the very nature of intra-familial relationships in this community through analysing individual and family life-cycles.

Let us start with the developmental cycle of one of the domestic groups from Klein Paniow (diagram 1). The oldest son (no. 1) left the parental farm after his marriage at the age of 27 and established an independent household as the owner of the village inn. His younger brother (no. 2) stayed with the parents and brought his wife into parental household four years later. However, after next four years the young couple also moved out to an independent household. The old farmer was in charge of headship till 1799, when the fourth and the youngest son (no. 6) took over the farm after he had got married at the age of 22. The fate of the third son (no. 5) was different: he left the parental farm at the age of 17, but stayed as bachelor and servant on his oldest brother's farm until the age of 28. He got married at the age of 30.

ble to capture by the use of single household accounts—but rather from originally neo-localised households extended by the inclusion of a widowed parent later on.

⁹ Here, by stem families we mean households that fitted into one of the Laslett's types: 5a (co-residence with parents of the household head or parents of his wife), two co-resided conjugal units with older generation heading the household (5b), extended upwards (his or her widowed parent), and 4d.

Diagram 1

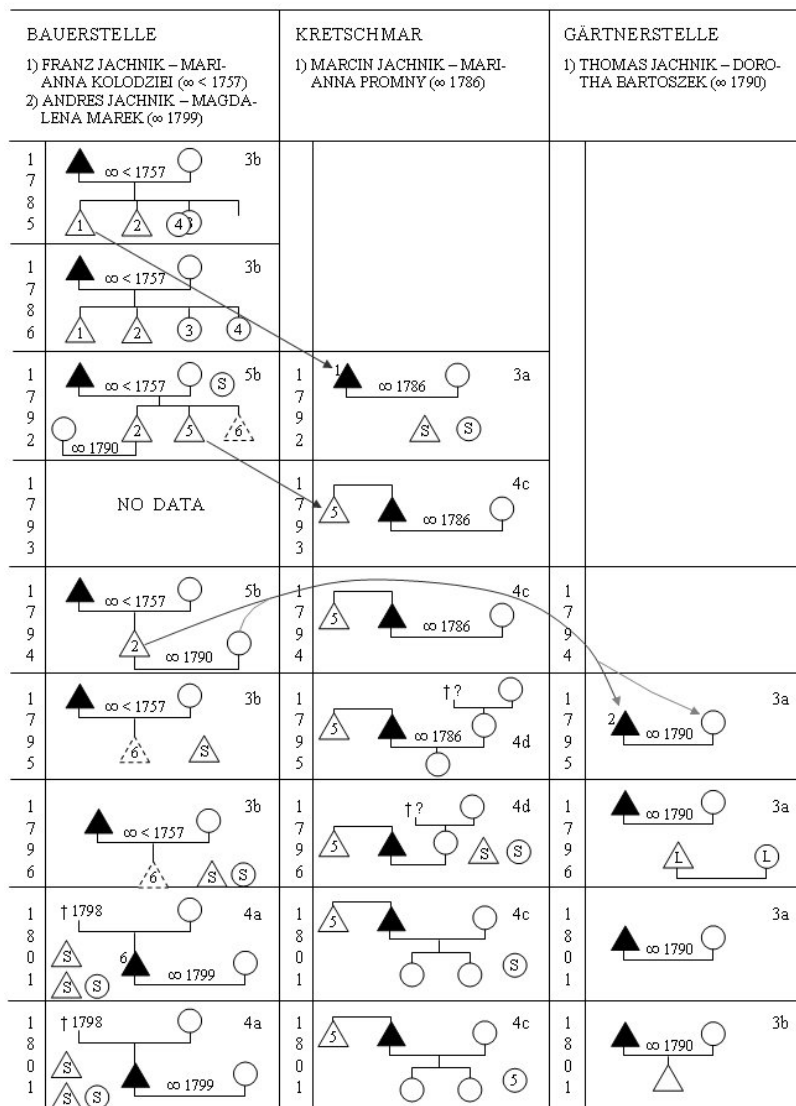
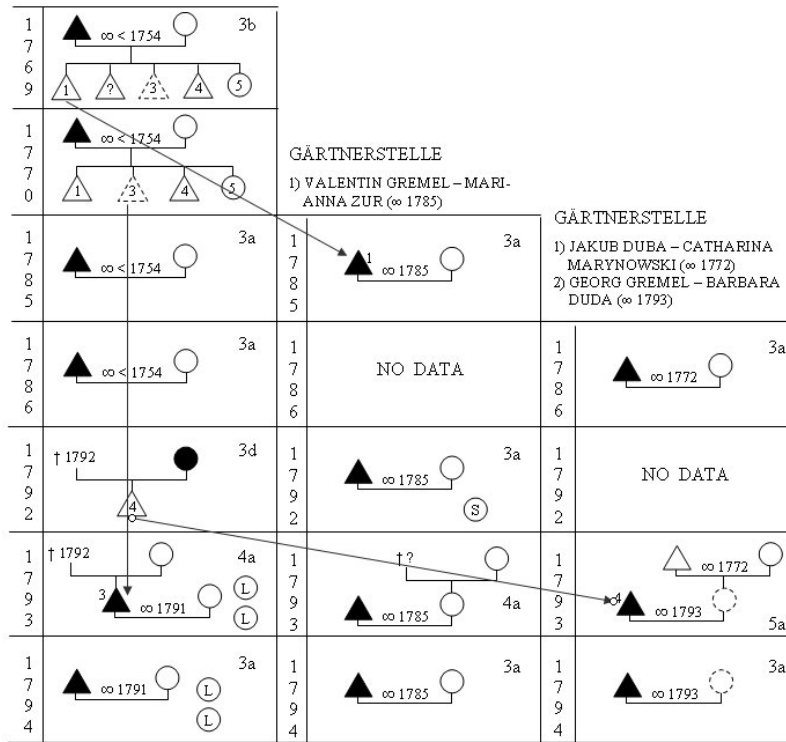


Diagram 2

GÄRTNERSTELLE

- 1) GEORG GREMEL – AGNES
SWIDER ($\infty < 1754$)
2) MATHIAS GREMEL – MARI-
ANNA CIPA ($\infty 1791$)



Now consider the household of the Gross Paniow blacksmith who also had some plots of land (diagram 2). Three of his four sons reached adulthood. The oldest son (no. 1) established his own household along with his marriage at the age of 32. The family farm was then taken over by the 34 years-old second son (no. 3) just one year after the father's death. The youngest brother (no. 4) got married with the heiress of a smallholding as a man of 28 years and left the parental household.

Cases like these could be multiplied. They all demonstrate that non-inheriting male offspring in the Silesian parish searched for residential autonomy. They also resemble the mechanism that Das Gupta termed a "lifeboat ethic", maintaining the family by removing claims of other kin (Das Gupta 1999, p. 4). In cases when ultimogeniture took place, sometimes two or even three older sons had to leave the family home at marriage or just after it to set up new house-

holds or they went into service, before the family head finally decided to hand over the headship to the youngest son. Sometimes, those who were leaving the parental farm might stay on it with their brides for shorter or longer time, what constituted the multiple households. However, it seems that even in those cases the principle of searching for residential autonomy was at work. Two additional cycles reveal this mechanism even better.

Regard four lines of the family Szydłowski from the village of Bujakow (diagram 3). At the beginning of the observation we find the family household just after the supposed departure of the two oldest sons, one of them was Martin holding an independent *Gärtnerstelle* (no. 2). Just after the death of the *Hausvater* the headship had been transmitted to the youngest daughter (no. 9) and her newly married husband. Remarkably, both younger brothers did not stay long in the household headed by the sister's family, and both left it at their marriage. One of the brothers (no. 11), together with his family, spent 8 years as a lodger joining several households in the village. Another one (no. 10) has reached his own *Stelle* after at least five years of being soldier and lodger in his sister's household.

The case of another family from the parish is even more instructive (diagram 4). In 1766, the family household contained two conjugal units co-residing since the marriage of the head's supposed son (no. 2) in 1764. This pattern of residence that resembles classic stem family arrangements, however, had nothing to do with the strategy of property's devolution. Through all these years of cohabitation, the head's son has been listed as soldier—which meant he was not allowed to possess a landed property within the prevailing system of *lassitischer Besitz*. However, this fact did not hinder him to have children every two years. Just after finishing the military service he left the parental household moving to a *Häusler*- and then *Gärtnerstelle* somewhere in the village together with his wife and son. Twenty years later this household was handed over to daughter Anna (no. 5), while the son (no. 4) followed a similar path as his father: together with his wife he joined his cousin's household for a while, but finally he found an opportunity to settle on his own.

Diagram 3

| GÄRTNERSTELLE 1) JOHANN SZYDLowski – MAGDALENA SCHOMBARA (∞ 1738) 2) MARTIN ROZEK – FRANCISCA SZYDLowski (∞ 1777) | GÄRTNERSTELLE / BAUERSTELLE MARTIN SZYDLowski – DOROTA DRYJA (∞ 1765) – MARIANNA LOMOSGA (∞ 1773) | KAMMERLEUTE GEORG SZYDLowski – HELENA BORKOWY (∞ 1786) – MARIANNA (∞ 1789) | KAMMERLEUTE / GÄRTNERSTELLE ADALBERT SZYDLowski – TECLA MANSFELD (∞ 1789) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 7 6 6 | | | |
| 1 7 7 0 | | | |
| 1 7 8 6 | | | |
| 1 7 9 2 | NO DATA | | |
| 1 7 9 3 | | | |
| 1 7 9 4 | | | NO DATA on the family |
| 1 8 0 1 | NO DATA | NOT FOUND in the parish | |
| 1 8 0 2 | NO DATA | NOT FOUND in the parish | |

Diagram 4

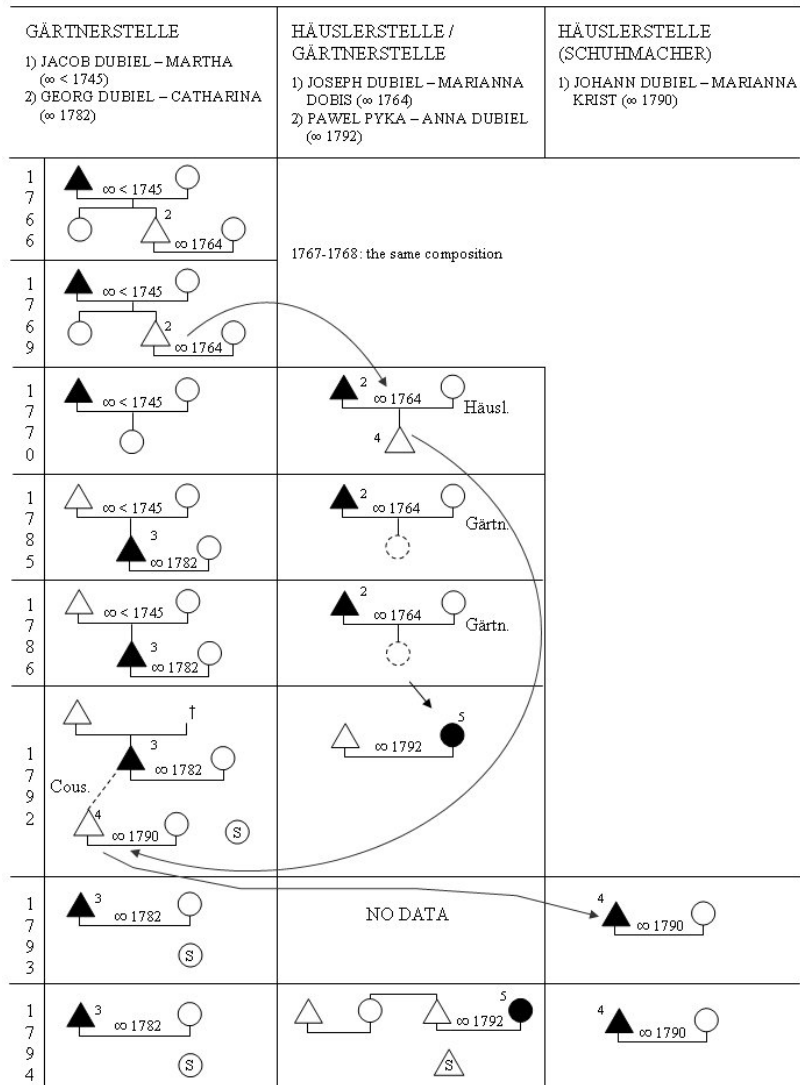
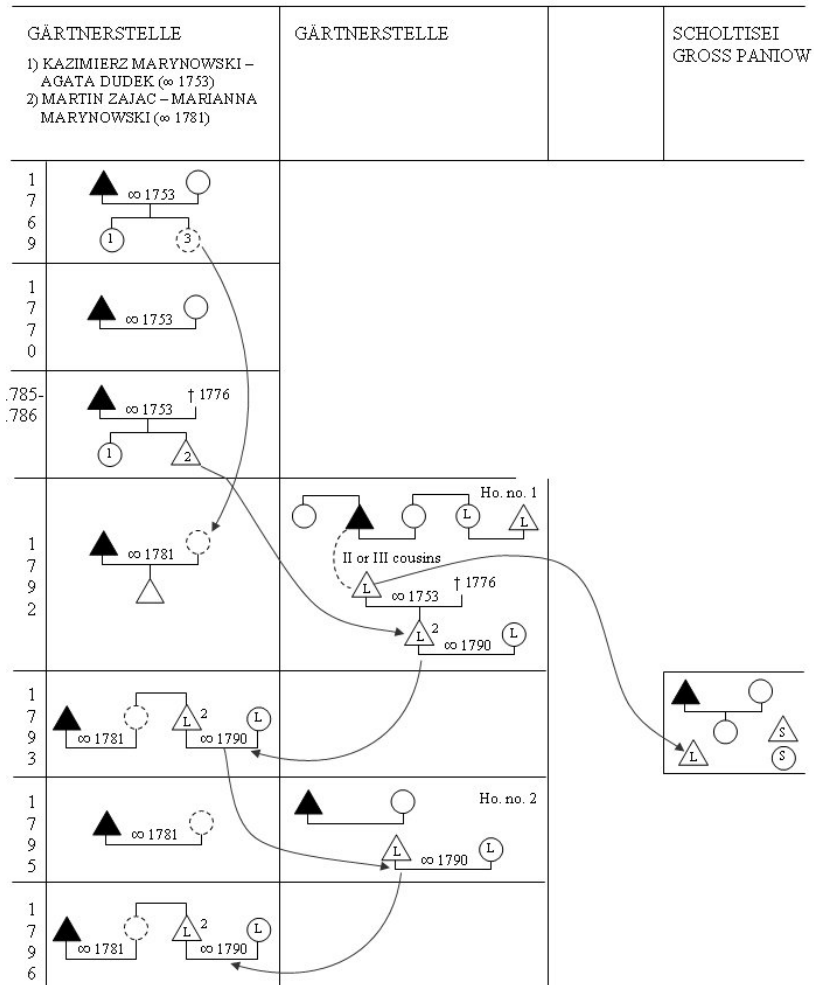


Diagram 5



Whether they consciously headed for living on their own, or were coerced to do so by external constraints (or both), a significant part of the young generation in Bujakow gained residential autonomy. Either they headed their own households, or they rented a room or a part of premises as lodgers from people to whom they were not related through kinship. However, it seems that for some of them parental household or family of other immediate kin might have served as a temporary shelter during their road to independence or in cases of economic or demographic hardships. Nevertheless, the evidence at hand sug-

gested that couples usually entered into co-residence on exceptional occasions, and for a significant part of the younger generation co-residence with parents or siblings was only temporary (see diagram 5)¹⁰.

Supportive evidence for a similar process one can also find in both localities from Great Poland. Here, children of both sexes gradually departed from parental households after they had attained the age of 9 (figures 1-4). In both communities, female offspring experienced the most abrupt form of the process: there were no more than 7% of girls over the age of 19 present in parental households, when compared to the number of daughters aged 5 to 9. In both communities, the number of male offspring over the age of 19 within households dropped by almost 70% compared to the age group 5 to 9. In both the percentage of male offspring over the age of 25 was very low. However, in the first parish (Będków) it was the age of 9, and then again the age of 19, that marked the departure of the largest proportion of male progeny from parental households, while in the second community the largest loss within the group occurred after the 14th birthday. However imperfect that measure may be (see Wall 1987, pp. 90-92; Dribe 2000, pp. 8-12), these results bring about a proof of behaviours certainly not very far from Northwest European experience (Wall, *passim*)¹¹.

Last but not least, one should not lose sight of those who decided for co-residence with an older generation. In Bujakow, those who stayed on the parental farm often formed the classic *stem family* arrangements before taking over the household. This involved: stable family composition preceding the transfer; the presence of the future heir and his bride who lived with his or her parents still governing the household; and the prevalence of a *intervivos* type of transmission with the older generation retiring.

¹⁰ Birth order of the head's children was: daughter (no. 1), son (no. 2) and daughter again (no. 3), while all of them have reached the adulthood. After death of the wife in 1776, the old household head did not remarry. Between 1786 and 1790 he handed over the farm to his youngest child (no. 3), the already married daughter and her husband. Surprisingly, the 33 years old son (no. 2) married the widowed owner of the large holding in the village almost at the same time. Unfortunately, in the enumeration of 1792 we find him with his wife, together with his father, as lodgers in the household headed by his distant relatives, what suggests the failure of the son's in-marriage strategy. In the future, the disinherited son together with his wife will join the household of his married sister as lodgers twice, in 1793 and 1796. They disappeared from the parish after that.

¹¹ These measures are based on synthetic cohorts and do not control for any effects of mortality.

Figure 1

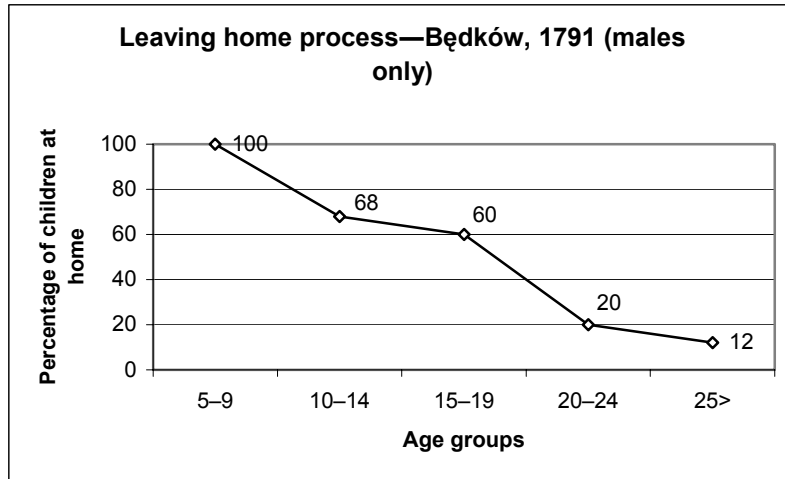


Figure 2

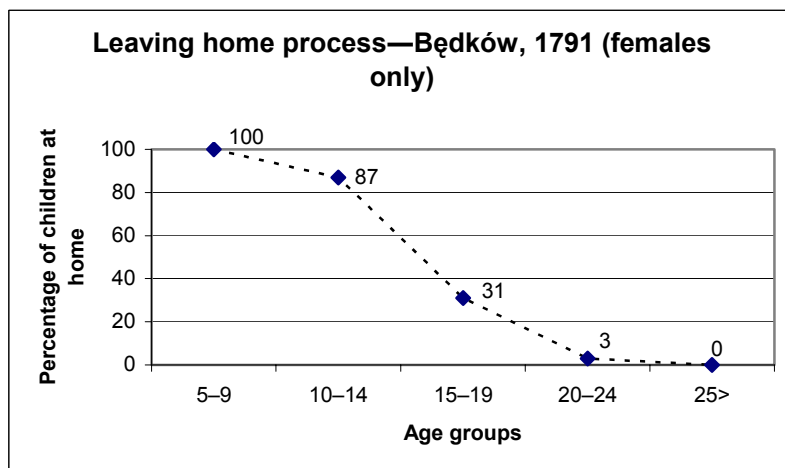


Figure 3

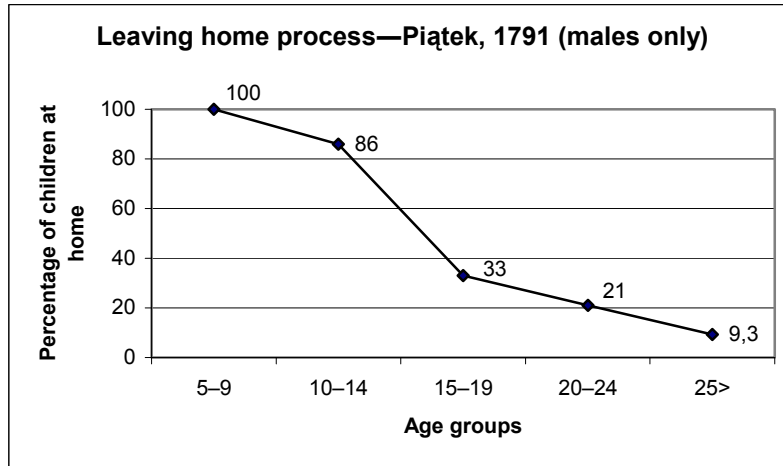
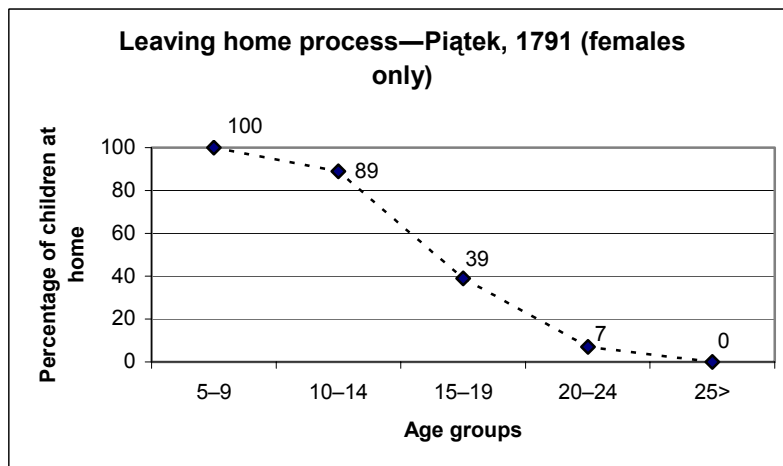


Figure 4

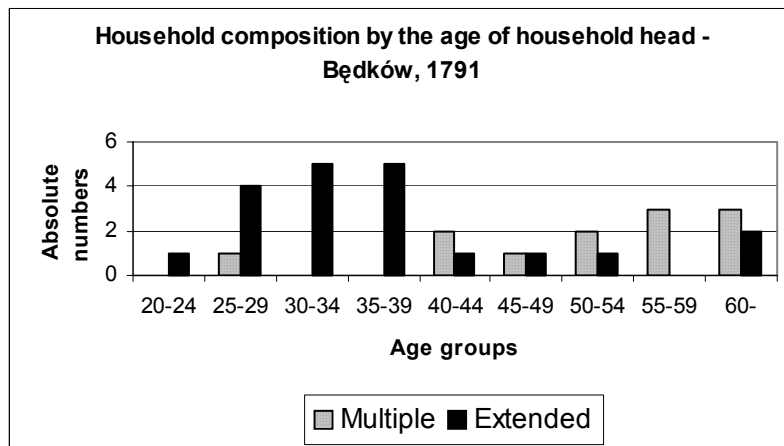


However, the stem family in Bujakow seems to be a sort of life-cycle phenomenon. An individual in that parish experienced household complexity usually at two points of his life: in the marrying phase when he usually brought his wife into the parental household, and in older age when his son got married but remained at home (on this pattern also Kaser 2001, p. 44 and Fauve-Chamoux 1996, p. 81). In fact, there were some households which did not experience the nuclear phase for the most part of their cycles, although there was only one not

experiencing it at all. However, none of these households kept the classic stem family arrangements during all census takings.

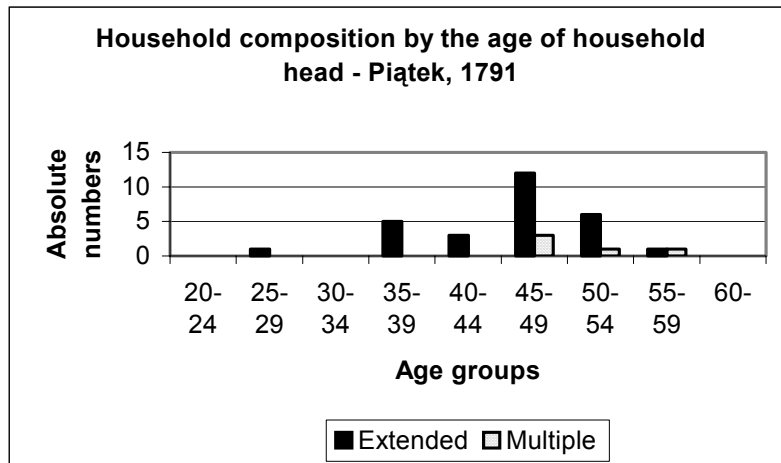
Looking at the figures 5 and 6, one can also find slightly similar tendency at least in the parish of Będków. There, extended family households were numerous among the household heads at the age of 20 to 39, while multiple households occurred mostly among those over 50 years.

Figure 5



No. of cases = 83

Figure 6



No. of cases = 125

What then if not a Family Household? Contexts: Hindrances and Coercion in Residential Arrangements

As we have seen, in all localities a large proportion of the younger generation achieved residential autonomy, even if some of them experienced household complexity at some points of their life-cycles. However, there was also a significant number of those who took co-residence with an older generation as an option, being compelled to do so or not. Thus, now we have to approach the problem of these different attitudes towards leaving home and achieving independence. Doing so, we consider stem family rules as intrinsically conflictual. Following Verdon, we argue that within them the only heir will likely have conflictual relationships with his male siblings, as he does with the father who “stands in the way of his heir’s economic autonomy until he (the father) dies or is incapacitated by old age” (Verdon 1998, p. 58). Thus, it seems reasonable for us to go along with Verdon who points out that conjugal units “(...) may either be hindered from achieving autonomy because of mostly economic reasons, but they can also be coerced into co-residence because of the ‘force’ exerted on them by another couple or extra-residential power-holders” (*ibid.*, p. 63). When parents succeed in compelling married children into cohabitation, they do so because children are hindered economically because of the absence of viable economic options or no real economic alternative (*ibid.*, pp. 63-64).

The evidence at hand makes it possible to reveal both the incentives to achieve residential autonomy as well as the disincentives to co-residence with the older generation on the part of the young generation. At the same time, it makes viable the explanation of behaviour of those of them who have chosen living together.

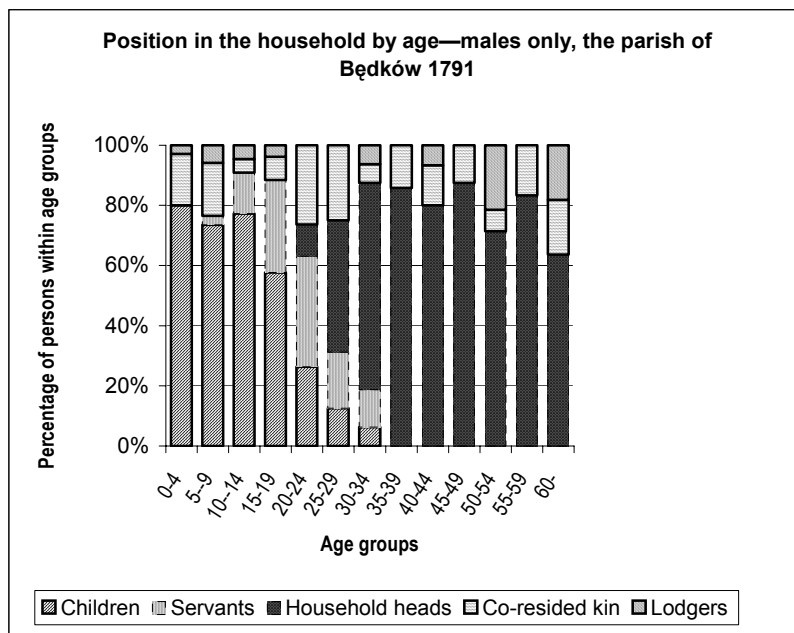
Movers

Among the factors that could have been working as disincentives to household co-residence of different generations in the parishes, the following should be mentioned. Firstly, in all communities, rules of impartible transmission of the farm acted for a lot of the male progeny as the most powerful incentive to search for residential autonomy outside the family household¹². Furthermore, in all of them household headship seemed to be a remarkably stable office, decreasing young male’s chances to achieve it at a reasonable age, and therefore

¹² This seems particularly evident in Bujakow where the rules of *lassitischer Besitz* implied that one heir took over the farmstead together with the house ground, and paid off the rest of heirs, usually at their marriage (Orzechowski 1959; see also Ehmer 1998, p. 61; Plakans 1975; Woźniak 1987).

encouraging them to move out. In Bujakow, once attained, headship lasted on average between 18 and 21 years. Nonetheless, one may easily find some cases in which it has been wielded for 30 or even 40 years in the parish (for the latter: 4 cases). On average, men stepped down from headship in their early sixties (Szołtysek 2004c, p. 72). Furthermore, among 113 transfers of headship that took place within the parochial villages between 1766 and 1803 and for which it was possible to reveal the context of transmissions, only 37% have concerned the *intervivos* type of intergeneration interchange. The rest of them occurred when the previous household head died (Szołtysek 2003, p. 276)¹³.

Figure 7

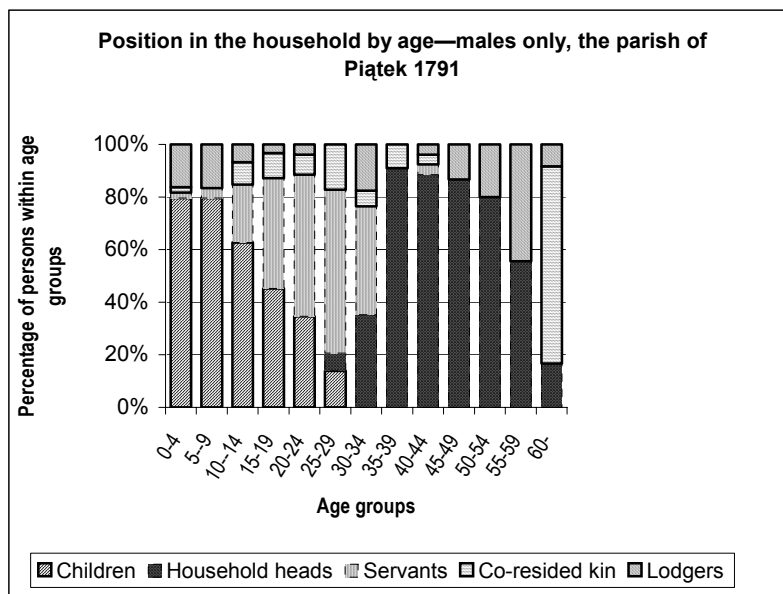


Factors that were probably not conducive to early accession to headship of-
fice seemed to have existed in the parishes from Great Poland as well. In Będ-
ków, only slightly more than 10% of all household heads registered in 1791
were below 30. Within the age group 20 to 29 a quarter of all males registered

¹³ However, the precise impact of mortality that could have acted as a kind of “positive check” affecting inheritance practices should be further elaborated.

in the village has already gained headship, while the rest of them were co-residing children or kin as well as servants in husbandry (figure 7) (also Rzemieniecki 2004a). In Piątek the conditions were even worse, for only 11% of all males between 20 to 34 years old registered in 1791 headed their own households, while the rest of them was working mostly as rural servants. This is even more transparent after considering that of all the males in the age group 25 to 29 years within this parish, only less than 7% were in charge of their own households at the time of census taking (figure 8).

Figure 8



Total no. of cases = 408
Population of manor houses excluded.

We lack any direct information on the distribution of authority within the households we have investigated. Still, we assume that cohabitation of two couples according to stem family rules, but with the older generation heading the household, typically led to a subordination of the younger couple. It seems plausible, then, to argue that the younger the adult members of the secondary unit within a household, the more easily they could be kept in a subordinate position. All the features mentioned so far could have worked as relatively strong disincentives to household co-residence of different generations in the three communities we have studied.

These assumptions seem to be accredited by the prevalence of *ultimogeniture* in Bujakow and by large age differences between generations having their own families but living together in multiple households in Będków. In all villages of the Bujakow parish but one, the number of multiple families (total no. of cases = 203) with older generation still governing the household exceeded those in which it was the younger generation that was in charge of the headship (Szołtysek 2004b, pp. 46-47). All multiple households with secondary units lineal in Będków were ruled over by older generation¹⁴.

Several socio-economic characteristics of the communities may have worked to create viable economic options and to make young people less prone to form multigenerational households. We can start presenting them by pointing out that in all the communities under study a relatively extended labour market existed. On average, approximately 13% of the total Bujakow population were servants in peasants' households. Servants working for the manor houses supplemented this group. They formed less than 40% of all servants in the villages and were mainly composed of women. However, there was a constant flow between these two groups, with the large part of peasants' servants working on the manors for shorter or longer time.

A similar situation was in the rural part of Great Poland parishes we have studied. There, servants formed 17% of the village population counted together with manor houses, with the husbandry dominated almost solely by males and manor houses making use of the most of female labour force.

It is evident that in all communities service was usually not a life-long condition, but a phase in the life-cycle. This life-cycle service seemed to be positively correlated with the probability of achieving residential autonomy in Bujakow, in some way or another. Most servants recorded in one census were in a different position later. Basically, there were three alternatives. A part of the servants eventually came to own a holding, either through inheritance or through marriage. More servants could found a family of their own, although they had no access to landed property; they became lodgers. Others disappeared from parochial registration after a few years, which means they probably had emigrated. Many servants worked in several households during this phase, some returned to the same household later again, but rarely did they come back to their parental home (Szołtysek 2004b, pp. 26-27, 56; on this pattern see also Mitterauer 2003, p. 42). In Piątek, more than 70% of the male

¹⁴ It should be stressed again that it is not possible to judge on the basis of single household lists whether the composition of households of Laslett's type 4a have been the result of previous cohabitation of younger and older generation (with the first being in charge of the household headship) or whether it has emerged as a consequence of the death of previous household head and subsequent transmission of headship to young successor. Nevertheless, even the percentage of domestic groups of this type in the overall number of extended households in both communities from Great Poland seems to be relatively low (it did not exceed 30% in Będków and 25% in Piątek).

population and 37% of females aged 20 to 34 were servants in peasant households or at manor houses. The numbers for Będków were slightly lower and amounted respectively 35 and 15%.

Concerning both population and the number of large farms, the parish of Bujakow remained virtually unchanged over much of the period between 1766 and 1803. Even the overall number of holdings did not change dramatically, with only seasonal shifts in the number of smaller holdings (tables 1-3)¹⁵. Contrary to other parts of Upper Silesia, no evidence of the increase in the number of landless or semi-landless classes has been found in the parish. At the present state of the investigation it is an open question to what extent one could speak of low demographic pressure. Mainly, a low growth rate of population could be caused by the high mortality rates typical of Upper Silesia at that time (Ładogórski 1955). Even the lack of landed property seemed not to terminate one's ability to marry and to form an independent household. It might be surprising that in a theoretically closed system of feudal estates lacking the existence of land market, the disinherited sons who had to leave the parental farm did not necessarily experience downward mobility. Surprisingly enough, they often found possibilities to maintain the father's social position and sometimes enriched it through buying up the holdings they came into (Szołtysek 2003, p. 305).

The strategies used by non-inheriting male offspring consisted of setting up the new household by taking off one of the vacancies in the village, marriage with the heiress of a holding, in-marriage in a farm governed by a widow, service or emigration. There is also evidence for marriages and also remarriages among not propertied lodgers both in their young and old ages. To summarize: one is tempted to argue that the so-called *Nischenmechanismus* or *Stellenprinzip* was not at work in Bujakow (see more in Szołtysek 2003, p. 296; also Fertig 2001; Zeitlhofer 2003). However, the issue certainly requires further and much more detailed investigation.

¹⁵ However, there were some abrupt transitions during the period under study. In 1786 the number of households has suddenly increased in the village of Bujakow (table 1) with 40% of households from that year not possible to capture in the enumeration of 1785. Also, the percentage of extended families increased. In Klein Painow (table 2) there was a sudden fall in numbers and rise in percentage of extended families in 1793. Also in the third parochial village (table 3) there was a change over a longer period (1770-1785 and 1786-1792). There is no clear explanation of these phenomena at present. Only in the first of the cases mentioned above, one can suspect these could have been caused by: the changes in the enumeration basis and/or landlord policy; by household management by landlords (varying rules on who can live with whom); or by varying enumeration procedures perhaps to escape taxes or other impositions that could all had been in relation with the changes among the owners of the Bujakow dominium between 1785 and 1788. The confrontation of household lists for the rest of the parochial villages with other sources from the period made it clear that they have been affected by such drawbacks to much lesser extent (see more in Szołtysek 2003, p. 193-201).

Our study of the two Great Poland localities is only based on demographic sources, so very little is known about their economic history. However, the presence of wastelands has been often considered as typical for that region, as a consequence of the warfare of 1st and the beginning of the 2nd half of 18th century, which resulted in low population pressure (Baranowski 1971, pp. 29-30; Baranowski 1958, p. 45; Topolski 1956, pp. 86-87). The large estates were infrequent there, as well as peasants sitting on large farms (Baranowski 1971, p. 31; Baranowski 1958, pp. 19-21; Topolski 1956, pp. 108-109, 124). Instead, the dominant form of peasant holding in the region was a *Gärtner* family sitting on acreage of ca. 9 hectares and obliged to serve a landlord in the form of *corvee* without draft animals (Baranowski 1971, pp. 53-54; Topolski 1956, p. 107). Thus, it seems reasonable to speak of low population pressure accompanied by a relatively moderate obligation burden for rural families. Both factors worked as incentives to neo-local household formation.

Stayers

The question remains who were those who had taken co-residence as an option and why they had done so? We can approach the issue from several different angles.

Within the rules of the second serfdom system the transmission of property usually meant nothing more than one heir taking over the headship over the whole farmstead and the house ground and paying off the rest of the heirs, usually at their marriage (Ehmer 1998; Plakans 1972). However, it also implied devolution of distinct rights to the chosen heir, concerning management and even usufruct of the property, though without the perfect right to deal with this. Within the reality of the system, then, to be a future heir usually meant not being a farmhand, cotter, lodger or resident of the manor house, that is one of those who lacked residential and life-cycle stability. Holding a headship “meant privileges for the whole family that ranged from avoiding onerous corvee labour, to enjoying residential stability in old age”, and thus, it was “a valuable prize in the peasant game of life” (Wetherell and Plakans 1998, p. 334).

Additional factors may have been at work on the parents’ side, being responsible for offspring’s failure to achieve residential autonomy or at least for its postponing. First, household heads might have aimed at increasing the labour capacity of the household and manipulated married children into co-residence through the promise to hand over the holding in the future. In that case cohabitation would emerge as a matter of power relationships (Verdon 1998, p. 64). This seems plausible within the context of second serfdom system (Kochanowicz 1983; Szoltysek 2003b). Here, it was not a “familial ideology” but rather changes in the level of familial labour power that stimulated attempts

by the heads to keep the size and structure of their domestic group. Labour requirements imposed on peasants obliged to perform a *corvée* could prompt household heads to concentrate the family manpower in the form of a secondary unit down within household, despite heads' awareness of the potentially conflictual nature of the co-residence.

This kind of pattern has been shown for the parish of Będków¹⁶. There, a detailed investigation of the developmental cycles of domestic groups has shown that hired farmhands were prevalent among household owners below the age of 45, but almost completely absent within households governed by heads between 45 and 64 years¹⁷. In the latter age group the age of offspring made it possible for heads to satisfy the household labour needs by utilizing exclusively the work force of their immediate kin—grown-up sons and daughters¹⁸. Within the heads' age group of 55 to 64 years, much of this household labour potential was achieved by co-resident kin and married offspring (Rzemieniecki 2004a). At the same time, however, the research on family cycles in Będków has revealed that peasants could have hardly been considered as reluctant to neo-local rules of household formation, and that they were capable of balancing the family economic and labour needs by hired labour force. This certainly does not fit the model of nuclear hardship from above proposed by Woźniak (Woźniak 1987, pp. 93-94).

An indirect supportive evidence for the pattern presented above could be found in the parish of Bujakow as well. There, between 1766 and 1803 multiple family households with secondary units down (type 5b according to Laslett's terminology) appeared 51 times in "communion books"¹⁹, while their largest concentration took place within the group of well-to-do peasants, that is those having the largest labour obligations. These multiple family households occurred twice as numerous among *Bauern* than among smallholders.

The second goal that an older generation might have probably tried to achieve by manipulating children (often married) into co-residence, could have been searching for provision for the old age. While some *Ausgedinge Verträge* reveal the conflictual character of retirement under stem family rules (Gaunt 1983), they cast no doubt that elderly people who co-resided with their immediate kin were better off than those who had to become lodgers or even beggars.

¹⁶ The analysis has been restricted to 50 out of 83 households from the rural part of the parish of Będków. The presence of hired labour force and a head's offspring within households has been used as a criterion in sampling the data (Rzemieniecki 2004a).

¹⁷ Among household heads older than 59, one can again observe the prevalence of hired labour.

¹⁸ The weak point in our reasoning is that we lack information either on the social category of the head or on the size of the holding at his disposal.

¹⁹ The total number of 'events' reached 95, but it resulted, however, from repeated occurrences of the same multiple constellations among the same family households through several enumerations.

Lust but not least, having a married heir at home might have served as a strategy to keep headship over the holding within the family (Plakans 1972). In fact, the cases of multiplied transfers from Bujakow show that at least some peasants tried to keep the holdings among the closest kin as long as possible (Szołtysek 2004a). We think there is reason to believe that this pattern is also applicable to communities from Great Poland, at least to some extent (Rzemieniecki 2004a; Górny 1993)²⁰.

Family-centred or not?

In order to measure how far residence patterns in our sample were based on familial principles, two additional procedures will be applied before reaching the conclusion. Due to differences in the character of source materials at hand, the analysis is now restricted only to Great Poland communities.

One way to approach the issue is to analyse welfare functions as performed by family households, especially with regards to the elderly. In order to pursue that goal we have collected the data on the position of the elderly within households and on the type of residential arrangements they lived in. They are presented in the table 6 and figures 9-10.

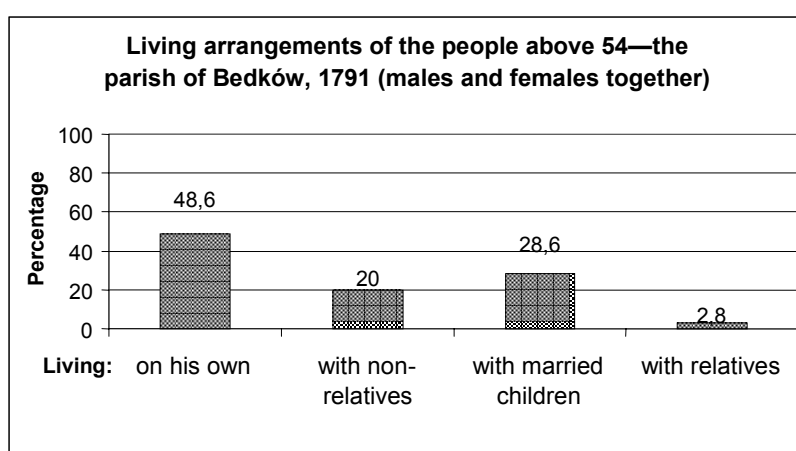
The residential patterns of those over 54 in the village population of Będków revealed a relative importance of the family as a welfare institution that took care of its elderly, regardless of their sex (table 6). In case of those males and females who have not been in charge of the household any more, it was the family of their own married children or other more distant kin that had offered the shelter for the majority of them. All but one of the women aged more than 54 in the parish (9 cases; female household heads and heads' wives excluded) have been registered as belonging to households of their relatives. This was an experience of one third of elderly males within the same age group (3 out of 9 cases; household heads excluded). Counting males and females above the age 54 altogether (figure 9) we can estimate that 20% of members of this group lived with people to whom they were not related by kinship.

²⁰ It should be pointed out, however, that not all but the majority of family constellations of multiple type 5b in Bujakow parish have led to subsequent succession over headship of previously subjugated married son or son-in-law. In 13 out of the total number of 37 cases with completed family cycles, co-residence of two generation has not resulted in intergenerational interchange (cases with incomplete family cycles lacking the transmission of a headship office have been excluded).

Table 6: Living arrangements of the people above 54—two parishes of Great Poland, 1791.

| | Będków | Piątek |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Position within household | Absolute numbers | Absolute numbers |
| MALES | | |
| Houshold head | 12 | 8 |
| Kin (father, father-in-law, brother) | 3 | 9 |
| Servant | 3 | 2 |
| Lodger | 2 | 5 |
| Unspecified | 1 | 1 |
| Altogether | 21 | 25 |
| FEMALES | | |
| Houshold head | 2 | 2 |
| Head's wife | 3 | 1 |
| Kin (mother, sister, mother-in-law) | 8 | 8 |
| Servant | 0 | 1 |
| Lodger | 1 | 22 |
| Altogether | 14 | 34 |

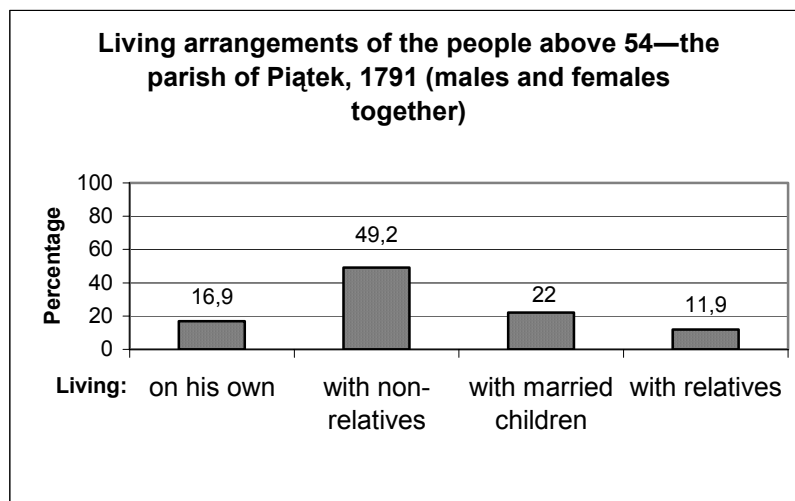
Figure 9



The things were going differently in Piątek, both for males and females. Still, a large part of all men over 54 who did not hold the headship anymore spent their

lives in the households of their immediate or more distant kin (table 6). This time, however, it concerns more than 50% of this group (9 out of 17 cases). The striking feature of the pattern revealed in Piątek is, however, that only one quarter of females in the corresponding age and household group was in a position to experience similar conditions (8 out of 31 cases). Considering males and females together, almost half of those over 54 in the parish spent their lives co-residing with people to whom they were not related through kinship (figure 10). If we consider only those not being in charge of the household, this proportion would be much larger and would account more than 63% of the group (“unspecified” excluded).

Figure 10



To approach the issue from a different angle we decided to follow the procedures introduced by Richard Wall (Wall 1998). Thus, we allocated all individuals listed in the communities (towns and manor houses excluded) according to whether they were or were not the members of a core family group, defined so as to include unmarried children resident with at least one parent, married couples and lone parents. All the persons who were not members of the families were classified according to whether they lived with relatives, with non-relatives only or alone (figures 11-14). It should be stressed here—in line with Wall’s methodological remarks—that in this case the focus was on the individual and not the household, while the relatives have been identified not by their relationship to the household head but by their relationship with any household member in the absence of closer family ties (see more in Wall 1998, pp. 52-59).

Figure 11: Relationship within households, Będków 1791 (males).

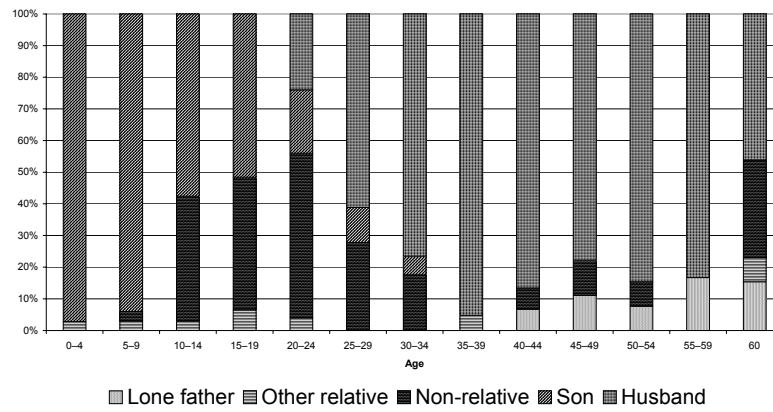


Figure 12: Relationship within households, Będków 1791 (females).

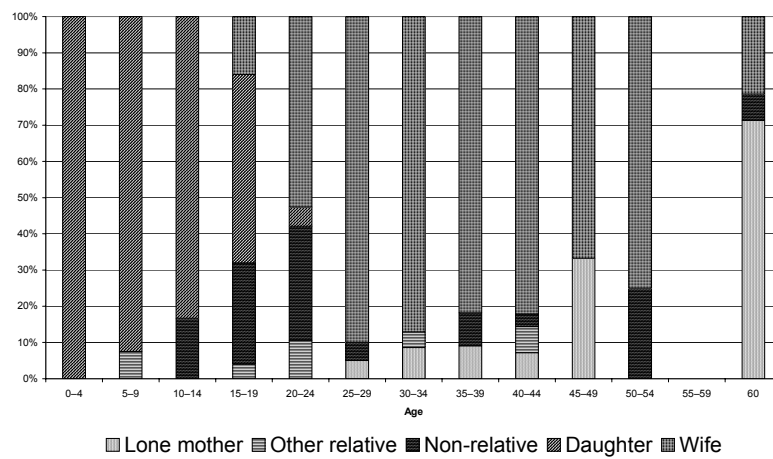


Figure 13: Relationship within households, Piątek 1791 (males).

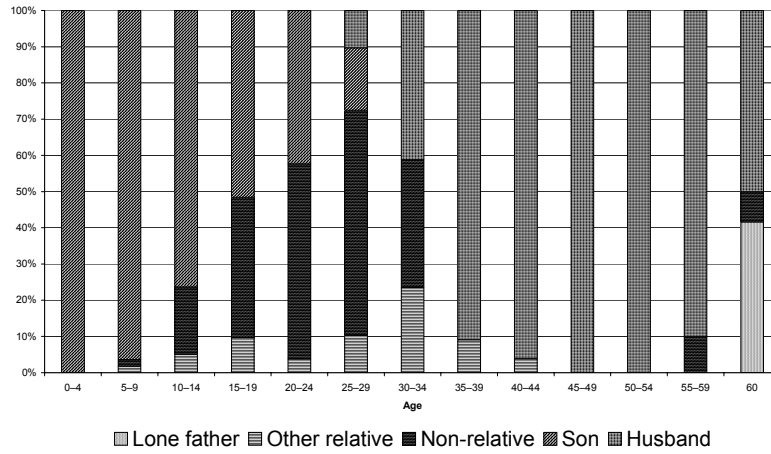
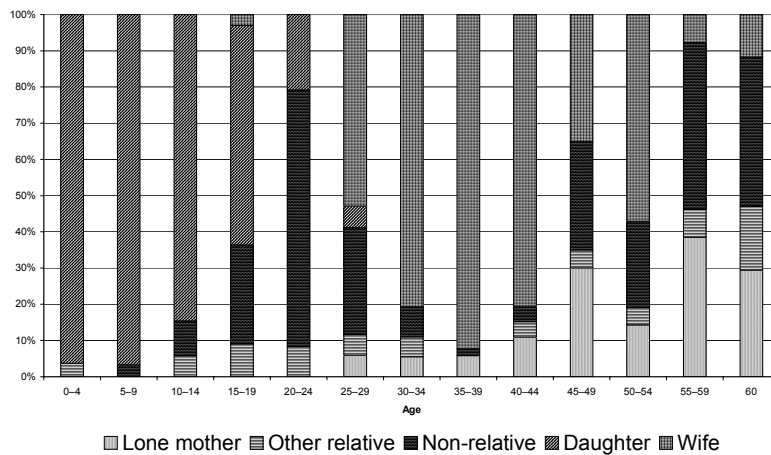


Figure 14: Relationship within households, Piątek 1791 (females).



First of all, these figures reveal again quite well the children's graduate departure from home and the presence of life-cycle service in the communities, proving the correctness of conclusions made above. One important feature of the pattern we describe is the diversity of individual life-cycles. For a significant part of these people the relationships were not restricted to the roles of sons/daughters and husbands and wives or relatives for other co-resident people.

The most distinctive feature of the relationship patterns for both sexes and in both localities was the incidence of co-residence with non-relatives and the virtual absence of living alone²¹. Co-residence with more distant relatives was rare even in the absence of parent-child or couple relationships. Co-residence with non-relatives mostly occurred during the teenage years and early adulthood. However, even numerous cases of this relationship could have also occurred in other age groups across the life span, excluding males from the village of Piątek.

The figures also made striking differences visible in residential patterns. Male life-cycles in Piątek were more stable than in Będków, especially in the age groups from 35 to 54 (figures 11 and 13). Among females, a reversed pattern has occurred, with extensive diversification of their relationships and large incidence of living with non-relatives in Piątek (figures 12 and 14).

Nevertheless, the overall picture that emerges from this analysis seems to be much less family-centred when compared to what Richard Wall has revealed for Hungarian and Corsican communities, where it was very rare to live only with non-relatives at any point in the life-cycle. On the other hand, female relationship patterns from the village of Piątek resemble quite well English evidence (Wall 1998, p. 56).

Conclusion

Certainly, readers may be eager to know much more about several other features of the communities we have studied, such as their demographic parameters and the way they had influenced the composition of households there (Levy 1965, pp. 41-42, 50-52; Burch 1967, 1972; Wachter, Hammel and Laslett 1978; Ruggles 1987; Ruggles 1990, pp. 22-30). Another issue that could broaden our picture of family interrelationships in the communities would be the complex modality of property transmission (Sabeau 1990, 1998)²². Furthermore, it seems clear for us that household as such is not the most suitable unit for the analysis of intra-familial relationships, for concentration on structural analysis of households alone makes it impossible to reveal kinship networks that could have been operating from beyond the domestic groups (Plakans and Wetherell 2003; Plakans 1987; Kertzer, Hogan and Karweit 1992). Last but not least, the deficiencies and drawbacks of single household lists—as those we used for Great Poland parishes—are widely known (Berkner 1972; Janssens 1993; Leboutte 1998). However, the findings we have presented so far

²¹ The lone mothers and fathers were not counted as “living alone” because of their offspring’s presence in the household.

²² This issue will be explored for Silesian parish of Bujakow on the base of Prussian Grund Akten (Szoltysek 2005a).

seem to be an excellent starting point for further and more detailed investigation of family forms in this borderland area of East-Central Europe. At the same time, the findings themselves as they are now should not be considered meaningless.

The evidence we presented, sketchy though it was, on residence patterns within the communities astride the Hajnal line, indicated that there was a considerable complexity and diversity of individual behaviours, which is not captured by the conventional classification of family systems according to the proportion of simple or more complex household forms. It seems clear that within the second serfdom context of the parish of Bujakow and two localities from Great Poland, large proportion of young adults were searching for residential autonomy, even if this finding requires further investigation and more precise estimations. Whether consciously heading for being on its own or being coerced to do so, a significant part of the young generation in Bujakow gained residential autonomy. A similar process has taken place in the two Great Poland parishes taking the form of children's gradual departure from parental households.

We have made attempts to sketch incentives and disincentives for both neo-locality and co-residence that could have been operating within the communities under study, and could have shaped peoples' preferences for residential patterns. Certainly, our sources do not indicate what living arrangements the inhabitants of Bujakow, Będków and Piątek might actually have preferred, had they been given the option. However, it seems plausible for us to argue that those who resigned themselves to their fate by deciding to co-reside with the older generation have done so mainly because of constraints imposed on them by particular socio-economic circumstances they were thrust into, or because they were coerced to do so by the older generation acting in line with labour demand/supply mechanisms built into the very logic of the feudal system.

On the other hand, in Great Poland many people lived with non-relatives, particularly (but not only) the servants. This in turn suggests, that day-to-day interactions many people have had during their life-cycles can not be labelled as strictly "familial". No doubt, this relative lack of "family-centred principles" or "familial ideology" in communities we study can be captured only indirectly in our source material, and in fact it is the matter of assumptions and interpretation. Our own interpretation states that the residential patterns we described can hardly be conceived as fitting into the image of family-centred societies; what we can see in our communities are people who, like atoms, took movements in different directions and played the part of various familial and non-familial roles. Notwithstanding, peasant's general reluctance towards residential autonomy—as Kula's and Woźniak's argument went—is hardly visible in our material.

Certainly, we still do not know what role landlords exactly played within these communities and how and to what extent they actually influenced indi-

vidual and family behaviour (Szoltysek 2003, 2004c, pp. 87-88). However, in our view, it seems realistic to suppose that peasants' preferences towards residence did not change dramatically after the abolition of serfdom in 19th century. Indeed, the sketchy evidence we have for that period suggests that even when some couples have taken co-residence with the older generation as an option, they have done it because of hindrances they had been exposed to (Styś 1957, 1959).

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